l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

867 carry a dish of victuals to an aged person, all in the
888 house will join in calling him a *good* child. They will ask whose child he is, and on being told, will exclaim: what! has the *Tortoise*, or the *little Bear* (as the father's name may be) got such a *good* child? If a child is seen passing through the streets leading an old decrepid person, the villagers will in his hearing, and to encourage all the other children who may be present to take example from him, call on one another to look on and see what a *good* child that must be. And so, in most in-
867 stances, this method is resorted to, for the purpose of instructing children in things that are good, proper, or honourable in themselves; while, on the other hand, when a child has committed a *bad* act, the parent will say to him: "O! how grieved I am that my child has done
861 "this *bad* act! I hope he will never do so again." This is generally effectual, particularly if said in the presence of others. The whole of the Indian plan of education tends to elevate rather than depress the mind, and by that means to make determined hunters and fearless warriors.

868 Thus, when a lad has killed his first game, such as a deer or a bear, parents who have boys growing up will not fail to say to some person in the presence of their own children: "That boy must have listened attentively "to the aged hunters, for, though young, he has alrea-"dy given a proof that he will become a good hunter "himself." If, on the other hand, a young man should fail of giving such a proof, it will be said of him "that "he did not pay attention to the discourses of the aged."

In this indirect manner is instruction on all subjects given to the young people. They are to learn the arts of hunting, trapping, and making war, by listening to the aged when conversing together on those subjects, each, in his turn, relating how he acted, and opportunities are afforded to them for that purpose. By this mode of instructing youth, their respect for the aged is kept alive,

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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and it is increased by the reflection that the same respect will be paid to them at a future day, when young persons will be attentive to what they shall relate.

This method of conveying instruction is, I believe, common to most Indian nations; it is so, at least, amongst all those that I have become acquainted with, and lays the foundation for that voluntary submission to their chiefs, for which they are so remarkable. Thus has been maintained for ages, without convulsions and without civil discords, this traditional government, of which the world, perhaps, does not offer another example; a government in which there are no positive laws, but only long established habits and customs, no code of jurisprudence, but the experience of former times, no magistrates, but advisers, to whom the people, nevertheless, pay a willing and implicit obedience, in which age confers rank, wisdom gives power, and moral goodness secures a title to universal respect. All this seems to be effected by the simple means of an excellent mode of education, by which a strong attachment to ancient customs, respect for age, and the love of virtue are indelibly impressed upon the minds of youth, so that these impressions acquire strength as time pursues its course, and as they pass through successive generations.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Bucks-horn, or the like."[27] In everyday life kinship terms were used rather than personal names.[28] Denton also said:

> Any Indian being dead, his name dies with him, no person daring ever after to mention his name, it being not only a breach of their Law, but an abuse to his friends & relations present, as if it were done on purpose to renew their grief: And any other person whatsoever that is named after that name doth incontinently change his name & takes a new one.[29]

Education and Training of Children

Children were nursed until they were three or four years old, but were increasingly fed meat and other specially prepared foods. Holm said they were taught to walk when they were nine months old.[30] When boys were four or five years old, they were given their first instruction in hunting, warfare, and woodcraft, as well as in other phases of a man's life.[31] Girls at the same age were initiated into the duties of housekeeping and the planting and cultivating of gardens. Old people, particularly grandparents, played an important role in instructing the children in tradition, religion, and correct behavior (O.A., N.D.). According to Trowbridge, men took upon themselves the duty of instructing the young of their phratry.[32] The earlier documents are silent on these points, but there seems to be no reason why these more modern data do not represent the customs of a former period.

In earlier times physical punishment was seldom if ever used on the children; explanation, ridicule, exhortation, and threats took its place.[33] Obedience was sometimes enforced by threats of punishment by the Mask Being. If a child was slow to rise in the morning, for instance, the recalcitrant one was told that this supernatural creature would visit him and poke him with a stick (N.D.). It was also believed that the supernatural powers punished disobedient children by causing them to become weak and sickly (N.D.). The myth of a great, naked bear was frequently used, since disobedient children were said to be its particular victims.[34] Children were described as being well behaved; a captive brought up by the Delawares said that "honesty, bravery and hospitality are cardinal virtues with them. . . .Their young, in a remarkable degree, reverence and honor the aged, especially their parents."[35] Not only were the old respected, but game and various other presents were often given to them.[36]

As children grew older, the boys in particular were more and more exposed to a toughening program. Training was one of increasing hardship, up to and including the puberty rituals. Children were forced to

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[27] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[28] Trowbridge MS.
[29] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[30] Holm, 1834, p. 127.
[31] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 202; Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Trowbridge MS.
[32] Trowbridge MS.
[33] Brickell, 1842, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 81.
[34] Herkewelder, 1799, pp. 260-62.
[35] Brickell, 1842, p. 48.
[36] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 76.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

amusements. They may devote days in succession to it, always gambling on the throwing. Among the Mingoes I have observed that two towns brought together goods, blankets, strowds, shirts, linen and played for them. In this case the game lasted eight days. The dice are placed in a dish, lifted up and thrown forcibly on the ground. The people of the two towns met daily during the period named and every inhabitant of each town threw the dice once. This done they parted for the day and each party separately offered a sacrifice in the evening. In connection with the sacrifice they had their special ceremonies, consisting in a man going several times 'round a fire, throwing tobacco into it and singing a song. Afterwards the whole company danced. This continued for eight days. When the winners bore away the spoil in triumph.

The boys exercise by shooting at a mark with bow and arrow. They may throw something into the air and shoot at it, the one hitting the object being regarded as a good marksman. As soon as they are able to run about they learn to use the bow and arrow. When they grow older they shoot pigeons, squirrels, birds and even raccoon with their bows and arrows.

Two comrades who have been reared together or have become attached to one another will be very close and constant companions. If one goes on a journey or to hunt the other will, if possible, accompany him. It seems almost impossible for either of them to live without the other, and for one to give up his companion, as may be necessary when one becomes a Christian, is very hard. Often such friends will make a covenant with one another to remain together and share alike possessions and knowledge.[298] If they go to war together and one perishes the other will fight desperately to avenge him, accounting his own life as nothing.

In traveling in companies they are very companionable and follow some recognized leader. The younger element, on such journeys, engages in the hunt and if deer or bear is shot, the carcass is brought to camp and laid at the fire of the one who is held to be leader. He divides the meat among all, share and share alike. No complaint is ever heard that one has received more than another. If the chiefs have a journey to make, they

also considered a mark of beauty (Lindstrom, pp. 193, 194, and 196; Pastorius, 1698, p. 433).

The Delaware women had the distinctive custom of wearing their hair in a large bun at the back rather than in braids. Men plucked all body hair and that of the head except for one tuft which was allowed to grow long (Smith, p. 137; Harrington, 1913, p. 220; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Lindstrom, pp. 195 and 200). Men were permitted to tattoo themselves as marks of distinction, the designs suggesting the deed which they commemorated. The operation was performed by breaking the skin in the desired pattern with a flint knife or sharp fish tooth. When the blood had been drawn, a powder of burned poplar bark was laid in the wound. Apparently the tattoo lasted a lifetime (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206).

Children were allowed to go about with little or no clothing until eight or ten years of age, being protected from the sun by a liberal coating of bear grease (Johnson, p. 280; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384).

Family Organization and Customs

Starting at the beginning of life, we find that the birth process was accompanied by certain special customs. Penn says that "...when with Child, they [the woman] know their Husbands no more, till delivered..." (Penn, p. 33). Harrington tells us that a prospective father who had bad luck at hunting attributed it to the spirit of his child playing about and scaring the game away. He would accordingly wear a miniature bow and arrow to keep the child's spirit amused while he hunted, or if this did not work he would try a small mortar and pestle assuming that the baby was a girl (1913, p. 212).

Birth itself occurred in the small hut which was also used during menstrual periods. The child was immediately immersed in water, then wrapped in a skin and bound to a cradle board. This was softened with a moss covering and had curved side pieces. The child stayed in the cradleboard most of the time until it could walk (Pastorius, 1698, p.434; Penn, pp.29-30; Lindstrom, p.201). Then, when it had to be carried, it was placed in a blanket and carried on the mother's back (Lindstrom, p.201).

Almost all of the writers were impressed with the quiet and respectful behavior of Delaware children. Only later writers, however, had much to say about the means used to educate them. These writers noted that children, especially the boys, seldom were punished (Brickell, p.47; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86). Brickell, who was brought up by a Delaware family, says that honesty, bravery and hospitality were cardinal virtues with them and that much of the training received was directed toward developing these virtues (pp.47-48). Also, of course, boys were taught woodcraft, fishing and hunting, and girls were taught the household duties including the care of the younger children.

the care of the younger children. Although physical punishment was seldom resorted to, exhortation and explanation were commonly used. One mythical story which was evidently used as a threat was that of the great naked bear. This was a creature, larger than most bears and naked except for a white spot. The only way to kill it was to break its back as its heart was so small that an arrow would seldom find it. The last of the species was reputed to have been killed on the east side of the Hudson River, but before that time it was said that recalcitrant children were particularly likely to be its victims (HecKewelder, 1799, pp.260-62).

A boy's life was not burdened with many chores until he was twelve or older, his time being spent in fishing and playing (Penn, p.30; Pastorius, 1698, p.434; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86; Harrington, 1913, p.213). When he reached this age, it was desirable for him to have a vision and receive a guardian spirit (Lindstrom, p.207). To promote this, the parents mistreated him, fed him sparingly and finally drove him into the woods. It was felt that this would cause a spirit to feel sorry for the boy and present itself to him.9 The nature of the vision which a youth had was sometimes taken as a sign of his future profession, and training in such a case would start immediately to prepare the boy to become a shaman or warrior as the case might be (Harrington, 1913, pp. 214-15; Zeisberger, 1910, p.101). At about fifteen the boys began hunting and at this they had to become proficient before considering marriage.

The girls stayed with their mothers and began helping to hoe the ground, plant corn and carry burdens as soon as they were able (Penn, p.30; Zeisberger, 1870, p.87). At a girl's first menstruation she went to a small hut some distance from the house where she stayed at least seven days. Here meals were brought to her by her mother or an old woman-friend, but she could not be touched. She used a sharpened stick in eating to prevent the food from touching her hands. At the end of her seclusion, the girl washed herself and all her clothing and dishes before returning home. She was then considered ready for marriage (Penn, pp.33-4; Beatty, p.43; Brickell, p.49; Harrington, 1913, p.215).

Marriage

"When the Young Women are fit for Marriage, they wear something upon their Heads for an Advertisement, but so as their Faces are hardly to be seen..."(Penn, p.31). Other descriptions tell us that this covering was made of worked mats decorated with alternate rows of white and black wampum and was worn pulled down to the middle of the forehead (Smith, p.138; Zeisberger, 1910, p.77). Girls married between the ages of thirteen and fourteen; boys, at seventeen or eighteen (Penn, p.31). According to Zeisberger, the Delaware had the tradition that individuals must always marry outside the local group, but no seventeenth-century writer has commented on this point (Zeisberger, 1910, p.78).

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

855 loosens it from the board, while it is young, except
when she must do so for sanitary reasons. Nor
do we ever hear their children cry or whine like
the Christian children, but [they] are very patient.
But when some illness attacks them, then they
lament so miserably and quietly with a soft sound.
However, they show themselves very tender to-
wards their children, nor do they do away with
their children, as unfortunately the prostitutes
among the Christians too often do.[4]

857 When now the children finally get out of this
their swaddle, they carry their children with them
on their backs, just like the gypsies do.[5]

855 But as soon as the male children become so large
868 that they can run around, they exercise them with
cross bows and slings, and when they become some-
what larger with the shooting of guns; and then
names are given to them, how they are to be
called.[6] But when the children become somewhat
older, so that they arrive at some understanding,
then they select and adopt their *Pâdhra* or idol,
faith and religion, about which we shall see below
in the chapter concerned.[7]

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[4] Williams observes in this connection: "They nurse all their children themselves; yet, if she be an high or rich woman, she maintaines a Nurse to tend the childe." *Key*, 52.

[5] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 357.

[6] By what name they are to be called.

[7] See below, Chapt. XV.

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

861 classes and text books were not a basic part of the system, but the descriptions of the teaching of Indian children show that they were definitely educated to fill their places in the society of which they were members. At a very early age children were given as 868 867 toys models of implements they would use in earnest in later life. These were different for each sex. For example, a boy would be given a tiny bow with straws for arrows; then, as he grew up, the size and effectiveness of the weapons would be increased until he was able to kill every sort of game as a full-fledged hunter. Girls were given dolls and very early instructed in the fundamentals of making baskets and pots. A considerable amount of the instruction given to children was by example and explanation incidental to actual practices by the parents or other elders, and by the relation of stories and myths. Therein lies the explanation of the failure of many early writers to find a "system" of education among the Indians. As a matter of fact, the reports of the age at which childhood was considered to cease show that the training of youths among the Indians was completed while they were still quite young (106).

597 Johnston and Chipps definitely stated that orphaned children were never adopted by relatives, although the care of orphans usually devolved upon the nearest relations in the absence of adoption (107-12). Zeisberger's statement that orphans were often given or bequeathed to old women may be construed the same way. Among the sources only Pipe gave relatives a prior claim on orphans. He said that maternal grandparents were bound by custom to take care of children on the death of the parents, but that, if they too were dead, other relatives or friends might take them. All of the modern informants agree that relatives of orphans could and did adopt them, although childless friends or neighbors who desired them often were given the orphans if they made their desires known. From the available information it looks as if there was a change in customs regarding the adoption of orphans within the fourth period.

854 352 The cradleboard must have been discarded by the Delaware early in the fourth period, for of the modern informants not even the oldest had ever seen one in use among the Delaware